2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A WII Kerala A WII
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593 to the kāranavan. Even in relation to small children they tended to seek the backing of a brother to maintain discipline in the home. Old women who had passed the menopause had the greatest authority. They could move freely about the village, travel alone on pilgrimages, and wield influence over their younger brothers and sons. [562] But even old women in some contexts found themselves united with their juniors as a group of legal minors under the command of a male authority.

Under these circumstances the mutual behavior of women was intimate and informal. Their joint tasks, carried out in the confined space of the kitchen, encouraged this intimacy. Further, as natal kinswomen they were habituated to each other from birth. Unlike a woman and her daughters-in-law in a patrilineal household, their group membership was unitary and they experienced a continuity in major roles and loyalties from birth to death.

593 If she were competent, the oldest woman of the household delegated its tasks, allowing flexibility for seasonal variation and unusual 561 occurrences. Generally, girls who had not reached puberty ran ●461 errands between houses, did small outdoor tasks, and played with their younger siblings. The younger married women shared the heavy work of pounding paddy, milking cows, cleaning dishes, and most of the cooking. Old women had pride of place in the kitchen and living room. They supervised cookery, occupied the best seats, and controlled their juniors' consumption of betel leaves, areca nuts, and tobacco from the family box. Elderly mothers took pride in serving their children and grandchildren with food on birthdays. In a large house young married women had considerable leisure and privileges. Through the day they took turns visiting the village bathing pool in couples, an event which gave opportunity for gossip and allowed them to be seen by (although not to converse with) the men of neighboring groups. [422] Old women proudly distributed the taravād's jointly [613] owned jewelry among the young and marriageable women, helped them to apply cosmetics and to dress their hair, and obtained a vicarious satisfaction from their marital conquests. For a few years —until she had several children—a young woman's life was gay and not overburdened with work. Women of childbearing age also had [841] periods of respite from the kitchen. They were secluded in an inner [844] room for three days during menstruation and did no household tasks for ninety days after a birth. In these conditions the division of labor was not strict and the segments descended from women were not segregated in their functions. Women wielded most control over their

2:Gough E-4, 5 (1947-1949)1961 A W11 Kerala A W11
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own daughters and grandchildren, but sisters "stood in" for one another in caring for their children and contributed their work in a manner conducive to the general welfare.

Between sisters, especially own sisters, there was deep personal affection as well as loyalty to the sibling group and to the taravād. Sisters were also rivals, often squabbling over jewelry, clothing, and favors. Both rivalry and affection were most intense between sisters close in age.

Most women died in their ancestral homes among their siblings and children. Only a woman whose forebears and brothers were all dead might move away from her sisters into a separate property group headed by her son as kāranavan. Even so, sisters often lived to experience covert disputes between their children, who looked forward to the day when they would separate into new branch taravāds. In the last resort sisters would support their own children in quarrels, although they tried not to become involved in such disputes but to preserve their mutual amity.

MARRIAGE

The taravād was obviously of very great strength as an economic and legal corporation. Correspondingly, marriage was the slenderest of ties.

Every ten or twelve years, the immature girls of one generation within a lineage were ritually married on the same day by men drawn from their enangar lineages. Before the ceremony the girls were secluded for three days and caused to observe ritual prohibitions as if they had menstruated. (The actual rite of tying the tāli or gold ornament around the bride's neck is the central rite of "normal" marriage among most of the patrilineal castes of South India.) After the tāli rite, each couple was secluded for three days in a room of the ancestral house. Their seclusion clearly marked a ceremonial if not an actual defloration, and travelers' accounts of the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries indicate that the brides were actually deflowered at this time (Stanley, 1865: 24; Kerr, 1811: chap. 6; Hamilton, ed. Penzer, 1930, I: 174). During the seclusion period, rites were performed to the goddess Bhagavadi to enhance the girls' fertility. On the fourth morning each couple took a purifying bath and ate a meal together. In Calicut and Walluvanad, although apparently not in Cochin, each bridegroom then tore in two the lower cloth worn by the girl in the period of seclusion. He kept one half and handed the other to the girl. Their personal obligations ended, the bridegrooms left the household.

11: India G-4, 5 (1960-1961) 1962 AW11 Kerala AW11

6.10 The present method of working these sands is haphazard and extremely short-sighted. The dunes are getting exhausted while the washings are dependent on a good monsoon. A better method would be to work the sand bar itself. This would also be in the interests of (*i*) conservation and (*ii*) ensuring a regular supply of raw sand independent of the vagaries of nature. Even if working of the sand bar suggested above is not taken up now, back filling of pools with sand tailings from mineral sand companies would prove beneficial. It would lead to building up of sand rich in heavy minerals, other than ilmenite. At present the tailings which contain 80 per cent of the original rutile and all the sillimanite and zircon, are dumped into the sea.

6.11 The extraction of ilmenite is done by the mineral sand companies at Chavara. Till recently there were four units, namely, two units belonging to the Travancore Minerals, one to F.X. Pereira Minerals and one to Hopkins and Williams. These concerns were all under private ownership till 1945. Realizing the strategic importance of these sands, the Travancore State assumed control of the sand deposits during that year ; and the mineral concerns continued to work as agents on behalf of the State. A few years later, however, the Travancore Minerals (1951) and F.X. Pereira Minerals (1956) were taken over by the State Government and run directly as State enterprises.

6.12 Hopkins and Williams, however, continued in private hands till 1959. By this time some difficulties cropped up with labour. The firm had also accumulated vast arrears of royalty to the tune of Rs. 28 lakhs. At this stage the management decided to close down the unit. In the interim period their export contracts had also lapsed. As a result of all these developments, there are two mineral concerns at present operating three units, whose total capacity is 1,60,000 tons. In view of the reduced foreign demand for Indian ilmenite, closure of Hopkins and Williams has not created any serious problem.

6.13 The output per man per shift works out to 0.41 ton at the Travancore Minerals Plant and 0.40 ton in the F.X. Pereira unit ; whereas in the Hopkins and and Williams plant, now closed, the output per man per shift was around one ton. This was partly due to a better layout of the machine. In the existing plants much effort and material is lost in transportation from one unit to another. In addition, excessive labour appears to be employed in the plant of the Travancore Minerals (P) Ltd.

6.14 The production of ilmenite rose from 216,000 tons in 1950, to a peak of 314,000 tons in 1956. Since then it has been fairly steady between 270,000 and 290,000 tons. The value has also been going up from Rs. 33 lakhs in 1950 to Rs. 170 lakhs in 1959. The present price is Rs. 60 per ton.

6.15 Ilmenite is mainly used in the manufacture of TiO_2 (titanium) white pigment. TiO_2 is used in various other industries like paper, delustrant in rayons, rubber compositions, plastics, printing inks, cosmetics, etc. Titanium metal is not widely used mainly because of its high cost of production.

6.16 Only a very small portion of the production of ilmenite is consumed within the State in the manufacture of TiO_2. The Travancore Titanium Products Ltd., Trivandrum, utilize about 3,000 tons of this mineral. This plant is expanding its capacity to 10 tons a day by 1961, and will then require 6,000 tons of ilmenite. The

31: Slater S-5 (1916-1917) 1918 AWI India
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in their opinion. There are no other investments so secure, and a little land will feed a man and his family even when he is indisposed to work. Again, a certain amount of prestige is attached to a landed proprietor especially when he is a big one, though there is not such adoration as can sometimes be observed in the attitude of the common people towards the Government officials big and small. 454 [556]

There has been a certain dislocation in the labour market on account of the emigration of certain classes of workers to the rubber and other estates recently established in some parts of the State and elsewhere. Their low wages, their low social position, the baits employed, somewhat nefariously, by the recruiting agents, and the grandiose hopes which the workers entertain of the unseen, have all combined to deplete the village of a certain class of workers from agriculture. The wages not only of agricultural labourers, but of all classes of workers, carpenters, masons, bricklayers, coolies, etc., have gone up. Few of the emigrants have returned, and those who return are certainly not very desirous of going back. 464 167

Manual labour is still looked upon as derogatory, and a well-to-do high caste man labouring upon his own compound or his own fields or allowing either his sons or relatives to do the same would be looked upon with contempt. High caste men have always to employ low caste people for any and every work, agricultural or domestic. Skilled work such as carpentry, blacksmithy, masonry, etc., is invariably performed by the particular "castes", which are hereditary and exclusive in character. These occupy a low position in the Hindu hierarchy of caste, but not so low as that other kind of agricultural labourers whom I called "Cherumas" or Pariahs, who occupy the lowest place of all. Each is respectful to his superiors and somewhat exacting to his inferiors, but there is nothing like hatred or dissatisfaction with one's lot in any of the castes. They take it as Nature-given and the social organism works in a smooth fashion, each man having his own work and his own aspirations. Judging from the present state of affairs it is impossible, and I think undesirable, to unsettle this order of things. There is scope however for the diffusion of education and knowledge, for the opening of a diversity of occupation, for infusing better ideals of social life and joint work, for improving agriculture and removing rural indebtedness and providing means of its non-recurrence in the future. But all this requires enlightened and sympathetic workers. 461